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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

• 857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwaun, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yewa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbiima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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867 264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another • 857 person without being punished only if the owner gives per- 261 mission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then." 867 857

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy. 261 867 857 261 685

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention. 867 857 123 685 [261] [754] [868]

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting 868

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] Nokwi is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin-terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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869 with impunity, it would be extremely dangerous for children and women to be near the scene. In fact, a child is told that he would die if he entered the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. Cases are cited to the children of women and children who had joined the men at this time either willfully [534] or by mistake and who had died as a result. The initiated tell the children that the gongs, trumpets, flutes, water drums, and bull roarers that they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of the *marsalai* who are present. Hints that these are man-made sounds come seeping down from adolescents and the careless remarks of adults, so that the child has a fairly accurate knowledge of the ceremonies before he ever participates in one. Despite his scepticism about the origin of the sounds, he nevertheless is awed whenever a ceremony takes place, and takes care not to venture near the scene. Furthermore, he takes care not to reveal to the adults that he has any suspicion of what really goes on.

869 796 Despite a child's awe of these meetings of the yam cult, he senses the excitement which prevails in the whole subtribe before a ceremony takes place and eagerly looks forward to the time when he will be old enough to attend them. He hears his father, *uncles*, and *older brothers* talk excitedly about the coming event, he sees them carefully paint their faces, comb their hair, don their best ornaments, and depart for the house tamberan. Then he hears the rhythmic harmonies of the gong orchestra, the high-pitched shouting of the singers, and the weird and plaintive flute melodies. These thrilling sounds burst out sporadically during the whole day, increase in tempo and intensity as night falls, and continue unabated as long as he stays awake. Stimulated by these events, [857] Kwoma boys make toy gongs from bamboo nodes and try to imitate the gong rhythms; they hum mimicries of the ceremonial songs; and they form miniature groups to practice the shuffling dance steps. Since they are not supposed to know these things, they do them in their forest playhouse or at times when there are no adults present.

869 789 Parents and older siblings also warn a child not to trespass in another person's garden lest he break out with boils. They

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[859] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her-
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwem
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Hayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[957] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Ham came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for us--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He had a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[857] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof
came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had
something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just
like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimawa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept
it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa)
was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it
will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of
firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up
a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way
to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mas' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one
of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men
were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred
ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads
and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same
things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

857 752 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit. About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefic, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. 484 [628] There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwans were helping to carry their cargo.

602 571 754 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the [601] relationship. He will no longer call them nem but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 262 [251] Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a mat bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 602 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who
628 had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone-daggers.
[648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It
883 was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to
262 their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food
313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch
123 anything. Kaya and Chimuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chimuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dunus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was
[262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 — I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting
[378] around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was
[136] [redacted] house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly.
[576] Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is con-
476 spicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work
863 room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 Mes is now our shoot boy, as Hamb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed
784 two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that
226 he could not eat any. Mes realised that he should not eat them because he
[177] had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Hamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me", and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Gwiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Gwiyap if he were going with him, to which Gwiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Gwiyap inherithd Yatafeuf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kowas came in this morning with an erection. Gwiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Gwiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Gwiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Gwiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunge kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (wheembage, a rough dull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [516] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (ngiyi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency